

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 02058 061508Z

51

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 EUR-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /074 W

----- 078134

R 061416Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2012

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 2058

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: RH, SF, WA, ZA

SUBJ: RHODESIA: OBSERVATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPANT
IN GABORONE SYMPOSIUM

NAMIBIA: VIEWS OF ZAMBIAN MARK CHONA ON OVAMBO ELECTIONS
AND SWAPO

REF: GABORONE 693

1. AT LUNCH JUNE 5, JOHN BARRATT, DIRECTOR SA INSTITUTE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WHO PARTICIPATED IN GABORONE SYMPOSIUM ON RHODESIA DISCUSSED SYMPOSIUM AT SOME LENGTH WITH OFFICER IN CHARGE, PRETORIA, ARTUHUR HAMMOND-TOOKE, CHIEF ECONOMIST FOR FEDERATED CHAMBERS OF INDUSTRY WHO HAD VISITED RHODESIA IN MAY, WAS HOST.

2. BARRATT FOUND THAT ANC REPRESENTATIVES AND THE WHITE
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PAGE 02 PRETOR 02058 061508Z

RHODESIANS WERE TALKING PAST EACH OTHER, THUS UNTIL ALMOST THE

END OF THE SYMPOSIUM THERE WAS NO EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THEM. THE WHITE RHODESIANS KEPT TALKING ABOUT "RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT" WHEREAS THE ANC DISCUSSED MAJORITY RULE. BARRATT SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE WHITES SPECIFICALLY MEANT CONTINUATION OF WHITE RULE IN RHODESIA, WHEREAS THE BLACKS WERE TALKING ABOUT THEIR RULE OF THE COUNTRY. HE NOTED THAT ONE OF THE THREE WHITE RHODESIANS, BARLOW, MADE HIS DEFINITION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT EXPLICIT, THE OTHER TWO BY IMPLICATION. THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF WHAT MIGHT CONSTITUTE A QUALIFIED ELECTORATE, THAT IS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF STANDARD EIGHT OR SOME OTHER STANDARD. ONE OF THE WHITE RHODESIANS SUGGESTED A BILL OF RIGHTS WHICH MIGHT CARRY EXTERNAL GUARANTEES BUT THIS DREW NO REACTION FROM OTHER PARTICIPANTS, ESPECIALLY MARK CHONA. BARRATT DID SAY THAT THERE WAS SOME INFORMAL CORRIDOR CONTACT BETWEEN THE WHITE AND BLACK RHODESIANS AND INDICATION THAT THEY WOULD ATTEMPT TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER AFTER RETURN. BARRATT COMMENTED ALSO THAT THE RHODESIAN DELEGATIONS BOTH HAD SAID THERE WAS ALMOST NO COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE IN RHODESIA.

3. MARK CHONA TALKED ABOUT HAVING A SECOND ROUND OF THE SYMPOSIUM IN LUSAKA TO PROVIDE A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMUNICATION. BARRATT FELT THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE COMETIME AFTER MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE AT WHICH TIME FRELIMO REPRESENTATION WOULD BE AN ESSENTIAL. BARRATT ALSO THOUGHT THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA AND THE SUBSEQUENT ZANU-ZAPU SPLIT HAS SET BACK AND ALMOST WIPED OUT ANY BENEFITS FROM THE SYMPOSIUM. HE ASKED ABOUT AMERICAN PRIVATE PARTICIPATION IN THE SECOND SYMPOSIUM. OIC OFFERED AS PERSONAL OPINION THAT A PRIVATE AMERICAN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE ASSOCIATION FOR AFRICAN STUDIES MIGHT BE INTERESTED IF THE VENUE WERE LUSAKA.

4. BARRATT MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE FINANCING OF THE SYMPOSIUM HAD COME PARTIALLY FROM ANGLO-AMERICAN WHO HAD THEIR OWN AXE TO GRIND AND IMPLIED THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS MAY HAVE BEEN CHanneled FROM THE SA MINISTRY OF INFORMATION THROUGH THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION. BARRATT SEVERAL TIMES MENTIONED THAT WHILE THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION HAD NO OFFICIAL STANDING, THE OTHER DELEGATION DID HAVE A SEMI-OFFICIAL STATUS. BARRATT REGRETTED THERE WAS NO NAT PARTY MP PRESENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 02058 061508Z

5. HE SAID THAT CHONA HAD SPECIFICALLY REBUFFED THE TERM DETENTE TO DESCRIBE THE SOUTH AFRICAN-ZAMBIAN NEGOTIATIONS. CHONA DESCRIBED THESE DISCUSSIONS AS DIRECTED TOWARD RESOLVING A SPECIFIC ISSUE AND SHOULD NOT BE READ IN THE LIGHT OF IMPROVING RELATIONS GENERALLY BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. BARRATT NEVERTHELESS FOUND THE ZAMBIANS WERE MUCH LESS CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN WERE THE BOT-

SWANANS. HAMMOND-TOOKE INTERJECTED THAT THIS REFLECTED THE INFLUENCE OF THE EXPATRIATE BOTSWANANS WHO HAD LEFT SOUTH AFRICA.

6. NAMIBIA WAS BRIEFLY DISCUSSED AND THERE WERE NO SPECIALISTS ON THE TERRITORY PRESENT AT THE SYMPOSIUM. CHONA SAID HOWEVER THAT HE REGARDED THE OVAMBOLAND ELECTIONS AS RIGGED FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT THEY RAN FOR A WEEK. THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THESE ELECTIONS COULD NOT HAVE BEEN HELD IN ONE DAY, GIVEN THE ORGANIZING ABILITIES OF THE SAG AND ITS RESOURCES. THUS TO THEM OVER A WEEK MEANT THAT THE TRIBAL CHIEFS AND OTHERS COULD CHECK UP ON WHO HAD NOT VOTED, WHO WANTED TO ABSTAIN BECAUSE OF THEIR SWAPO ATTACHMENTS ETC., AND TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE ABSENTEES TO VOTE DESPITE THE SWAPO CALL FOR ABSENTION.

7. CHONA ALSO EXPLAINED THE ZAMBIAN ATTACHMENT TO SWAPO AS DERIVING FROM THE FACT THAT SWAPO WAS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE LIBERATION MOVEMENT PRESENTLY IN SIGHT AND SHOULD ANOTHER EMERGE IT WOULD BE CONSIDERED.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SEMINARS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PRETOR02058
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750198-0766
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750673/aaaacpbl.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GABORONE 693
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: OBSERVATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPANT IN GABORONE SYMPOSIUM
TAGS: OCON, PFOR, RH, SF, WA, ZA, SWAPO, ANC, (CHONA, MARK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006